

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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SUBJECT: STATEMENTS BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON AND GENERAL ROWNY,  
MARCH 25, 1975 (SALT TWO-577)

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON  
AND GENERAL ROWNY AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 25, 1975.

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

MARCH 25, 1975

MR. MINISTER:

I

IN CONTINUATION OF MY EXPOSITION OF THE US DRAFT AGREEMENT  
I WILL ADDRESS TODAY ARTICLES VI, VII, AND IX WHICH SUPPLEMENT  
CERTAIN OTHER ARTICLES OF THE DRAFT.

II

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THE PURPOSE OF ARTICLE VI IS TO PERMIT EACH SIDE THE NECESSARY

FREEDOM TO CONDUCT ICBM AND SLBM RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND TRAINING AND TO CONDUCT SPACE FLIGHT ACTIVITIES, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME REDUCING THE POSSIBILITY THAT LAUNCHERS FOR SUCH PURPOSES MIGHT BE USED AS A MEANS TO CIRCUMVENT THE AGREEMENT. PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE VI OF THE US DRAFT AND ARTICLE XIV OF THE SOVIET DRAFT ADDRESS LAUNCHERS FOR RESEARCH, TESTING, TRAINING, AND SPACE FLIGHTS. PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE VI OF THE US DRAFT IS BASED UPON THE RELEVANT AGREED INTERPRETATION TO THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, AND IS INCLUDED IN THE BODY OF THE US DRAFT BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE US SIDE ATTACHES TO THIS ISSUE AND BECAUSE THE US SIDE BELIEVES THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT SHOULD BE A CLEAR, UNAMBIGUOUS AND SELF-CONTAINED DOCUMENT.

THE US DRAFT, AS DOES THE SOVIET DRAFT, SPECIFICALLY EXEMPTS FROM THE 2400 AND 1320 AGGREGATES THOSE ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS USED ONLY FOR RESEARCH, TESTING OR TRAINING. THE US DRAFT, HOWEVER, ALSO ADDS THE TERM "DEVELOPMENT" TO THE TERMS "TEST" AND "TRAINING" WHICH WERE USED IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT THESE FOUR TERMS--RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENTS, TESTING AND TRAINING--TOGETHER BETTER DESCRIBE THE TYPES OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS TO WHICH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE APPLY. WITH RESPECT TO THE TERM "DEVELOPMENT", A PRECEDENT FOR ITS USE IS FOUND IN ARTICLE IV OF THE ABM TREATY. THUS, ARTICLE VI OF THE US DRAFT, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEFINITIONS IN ARTICLE II AND THOSE PORTIONS OF ARTICLES III AND IV CONCERNING WHEN SPECIFIC SYSTEMS WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATES, MAKES IT CLEAR THAT FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, LAND-MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS, AND SLBM LAUNCHERS USED ONLY FOR RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TESTING OR TRAINING WOULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN EITHER THE 2400 OR THE 1320 AGGREGATE LIMITATION. ARTICLE VI ALSO EXCLUDES FROM THESE AGGREGATES LAUNCHERS USED ONLY FOR SPACE FLIGHTS.

THE SECOND PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE VI IS BASED UPON THE PERTINENT AGREED INTERPRETATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND HAS BEEN INCLUDED SO AS TO EMBODY IN THE NEW AGREEMENT THE OBLIGATION NOT TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY THE NUMBER OF ICBM OR SLBM LAUNCHERS USED ONLY FOR RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TESTING OR TRAINING, OR LAUNCHERS FOR SPACE FLIGHTS, OR THE NUMBER OF SUCH LAUNCHERS

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FOR HEAVY ICBMS. THIS PARAGRAPH ALSO CONTAINS THE OBLIGATION, ASSUMED BY THE SIDES UNDER THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, NOT TO CONSTRUCT OR CONVERT LAUNCHERS AT TEST RANGES OTHER THAN FOR PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TESTING OR TRAINING. I WOULD NOTE THAT IN YOUR STATEMENT OF MARCH 12 THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD APPARENTLY NOT CARRY FORWARD TO THE NEW AGREEMENT THE OBLIGATION ASSUMED UNDER THE INTERIM AGREEMENT NOT TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY THE NUMBER OF SUCH LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS. THE US SIDE BELIEVES

IT IS IMPORTANT TO CONTINUE THIS OBLIGATION DURING THE PERIOD  
OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. III

ARTICLE VII OF THE US DRAFT TEXT CONFIRMS THE RIGHT OF  
THE TWO SIDES TO MODERNIZE AND REPLACE THEIR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE  
ARMS, SUBJECT TO PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. WE ARE PLEASED  
TO NOTE THAT ARTICLE X OF THE SOVIET DRAFT IS THE SAME AS ARTICLE  
VII OF THE US DRAFT.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF  
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WE NOTE THAT ARTICLE VII OF THE SOVIET  
DRAFT IMPOSES A LIMITATION ON SLBM LAUNCHERS ON SUBMARINES  
"OF A NEW TYPE". IT IS THE US VIEW THAT THIS ARTICLE OF THE  
SOVIET DRAFT IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD AND  
I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INFORM YOU THAT WE CANNOT AGREE TO  
ITS INCLUSION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT.

IV

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION AND RE-  
PLACEMENT OF EXISTING SYSTEMS, EITHER SIDE COULD HAVE SYSTEMS  
IN EXCESS OF THE AGGREGATE LIMITS UNLESS CURRENT SYSTEMS WERE  
DESTROYED OR DISMANTLED. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT ONE OF THE  
SIDES MIGHT FIND IT NECESSARY TO DESTROY OR DISMANTLE EXISTING  
SYSTEMS IN ORDER NOT TO HAVE SYTEMS IN EXCESS OF OR PROHIBITED  
BY THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ASSUMED. ARTICLE IX OF THE US DRAFT  
ADDRESSES THESE SITUATIONS BY PROVIDING FOR THE DESTRUCTION  
OR DISMANTLING OF EXCESS OR PROHIBITED SYSTEMS PURSUANT TO  
PROCEDURES AGREED UPON IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.  
THE SIDES HAVE HAD EXPERIENCE IN FORMULATING PROCEDURES IN THE  
STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION FOR THE DESTRUCTION AND  
DISMANTLING OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS. AMONG THE ADDITIONAL  
PROCEDURES WHICH THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION WILL  
NEED TO FORMULATE FOR THE NEW AGREEMENT ARE THE PROCEDURES TO  
DEAL WITH THE DESTRUCTION AND DISMANTLING OF SYSTEMS TO BE

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LIMITED FOR THE FIRST TIME SUCH AS HEAVY BOMBERS AND LAUNCHERS  
FOR ASBMS.

ARTICLE III OF THE US DRAFT, IN IMPLEMENTING THE AIDE-  
MEMOIRE, REQUIRES THAT FROM OCTOBER 3, 1977, EACH PARTY  
UNDERTAKES TO LIMIT ICBM, SLBM AND ASBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY  
BOMBERS TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 2400. ANY  
SYSTEM WHICH WOULD BE IN EXCESS WOULD HAVE TO BE DESTROYED  
OR DISMANTLED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED PROCEDURES. THIS POINTS  
TO THE NEED FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH PROCEDURES IN THE STANDING  
CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE COMPLETION OF  
ANY REQUIRED DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION PRIOR TO OCTOBER  
3, 1977, THE DATE ON WHICH THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION BECOMES  
EFFECTIVE.

V

I HAVE MENTIONED ON A PREVIOUS OCCASION THAT AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME WE WOULD PROVIDE A DEFINITION OF THROW-WEIGHT. GENERAL ROWNY WILL PROVIDE THIS DEFINITION LATER IN TODAY'S MEETING.

VI

TODAY, MR. MINISTER I HAVE DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT AFFECT THE FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATIONS BEING ASSUMED BY THE TWO SIDES. AT OUR NEXT MEETING, I PLAN TO ADDRESS ARTICLE XI OF THE US DRAFT WHICH DEALS WITH THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

UNQUOTE

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY GENERAL BY ROWNY

MARCH 25, 1975

MR. MINISTER:

WE DEFINE BALLISTIC MISSILE THROW-WEIGHT AS THE MAXIMUM USEFUL WEIGHT WITH WHICH THE BOOST STAGES OF A BALLISTIC MISSILE HAVE BEEN FLIGHT TESTED.

THE USEFUL WEIGHT OF A BALLISTIC MISSILE INCLUDES THE WEIGHT OF REENTRY VEHICLES WHICH ITS BOOST STAGES ARE CAPABLE OF DELIVERING TO AN IMPACT POINT, THE WEIGHT OF PENETRATION  
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AIDS, REENTRY SHROUDS AND COVERS, AND THE WEIGHT OF ANY CONVEYING, GUIDANCE AND CONTROL, DISPENSING OR RELEASE MECHANISMS TOGETHER WITH THEIR PROPELLANTS, WHICH ARE PRESENT AT THE END OF THE BOOST PHASE.

THE BOOST STAGES ARE THOSE PROPULSION DEVICES WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO INJECT THE USEFUL WEIGHT INTO TRAJECTORIES OF OPERATIONAL RANGE. THE WEIGHT OF THE FINAL BOOST STATE ITSELF INCLUDING ITS COMPONENTS IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE USEFUL WEIGHT UNLESS THE FINAL BOOST STAGE ALSO PERFORMS THE FUNCTION OF CONVEYING OR DISPENSING INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES AFTER THE END OF THE BOOST PHASE. UNQUOTE JOHNSON

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